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AMERICA INDIGENA

ORGANO TRIMESTRAL DEL INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA INTERAMERICANO

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Vol. XXI

[Title Page]

Núm. 3

JULIO, 1961

MEXICO, D. F.

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MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

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Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, N° 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

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121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [117] *Assimilation of the Terena*), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population, which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16-18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5-6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29-30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

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through the social field. But the continuity is essentially one of repetition. There is an expectation of sameness, depending upon how the concept is phrased. A structural principle is one which provides a fixed line of social behaviour and represents the order which it manifests" (R. Firth, 1955 : 2). Used in a heuristic sense, this concept of social structura would permit us to characterize the Terena social system—for taxonomic purposes or even for structural analysis—as having "a high degree of comparativity" (Cf. Nadel, 1957 : 125). Still, this would not present a complete picture of the existing social situation. This has been demonstrated by Raymond Firth in his 1936 classic *We, The Tikopia*, and in more recent articles (1954, 1955). He demonstrates the necessity of studying the way in which a social group reacts when, finding it impossible to fulfill the demands of the social structure, it must accept alternative behaviour. Taking for example a situation in which the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son are strictly regulated by structural precept, we might ask: What happens when there is no mother's brother (Cf. Firth, 1954 : 12-13) ? Problems dealing with inheritance, name giving, social control, etc., arise when the necessary elements of the mother's brother/sister's son equation cease to exist, or perhaps never existed in a particular family. A recording of the responses of the group to such a contingency —responses which may at times become institutionalized particularly in cases of groups in transition— is just as interesting to the research worker as the examination of conventional behavior. In order to handle this problem, the specialist is forced to use the concept of *social organization*. "It (the concept of social organization) recognizes adaptation of behaviour in respect of given ends, control of means in varying circumstances, which are set by changes in the external environment or by the necessity to resolve conflict between structural principles" (Firth, 1955 : 2). Comparing, then, both these concepts, that of social structure and that of social organization, Firth makes clear that: "If structure implies order, organization implies a working towards order —though not necessarily the same order" (ibidem).

Even though there may be a tendency in the study of a structural system to emphasize the recording and analysis of the "highly stable uniformities" in order to make possible the construction of models, the above precise operational definition of these two concepts demonstrates that care must be taken not to exclude from the scope of the study the dynamic aspects of the social system, whether these aspects have reference to pathological items[6] or to more "normal" processes

[6] Durkheim, in "La Division du Travail Social", when he treats of the "Division du travail anomique" (Book III), observes that one of the most useful procedures for determining with the greatest precision the conditions

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of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By his time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

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a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

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for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

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This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

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Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

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616 793 stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut Yurikoyuvakái in two, both halves later growing into the twins" (1949 : 42). This version does not suggest the superiority of one twin over the other. In a version which we recorded of this same story, there is the suggestion, however, of the predominance of one moiety over the other—to the extent that the moieties may be considered to correspond to the twins. According to one old Terena: "Yurikoyuvakái had a brother Tapuyuké, somewhat shorter than he was. Ane day they started to cut the clouds so as to kill everything, because they did not want us to survive. But the more they cut the more the clouds grew. Then the two stopped cutting because they were tired. And each one went his own way." The versions recorded by Herbert Baldus tell us that "Anciently Orekajuvakái was just one and while he was still young his mother became angry with him because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the garden; she went to the garden, got a sickle and cut Orekajuvakái into two pieces. The piece from the waist up turned into people; and the other half became people too" (1950 : 218). Baldus indicates that there was another culture-hero myth among the Terena that referred to a malicious person who did not always act with the best of intentions, considerably different from the idea presented by Yurikoyuvakái. This second concerned the hero Pitanoé, who can be equivalent with Taipuyuké, of whom our informant from Cachoeirinha spoke. It appears that the myth that we recorded reconciles the two personalities of Orekoyuvakái and Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé), by making them originally a single person, who was only later divided into two, which gave birth to two distinct personalities which correspond to the two moieties Sukirikionó and Xumonó. The other versions collected by us and others, are really only variations of the theme we have presented. On the point of the superiority of one twin over the other, Altenfelder Silva supports the general hypothesis, saying that after Yurikojuvakái had been cut through the middle, "the top part grew to be another Yurikoyuvakái; the lower part became another person. But the first was the one who gave orders" (1949 : 349).

616 The impression gained from talking to the Terena is that the Sukirikionó are a little superior to the Xumonó, although this superiority is never reflected in ordinary social intercourse. It is probable that this difference of "ethos" has always been evident solely in the magico-religious ceremonies and in the secular games described above, without ever having influenced social norms. As we shall show, the role of the moieties in society was confined to the regulation of marriage, in conjunction with the strata.[9]

[9] The Portuguese term used here is *camada*, which is considered to be equivalent to the technical usage of "stratum".

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3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under the circumstances the children received the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

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616 611 565 which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

565 582 It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

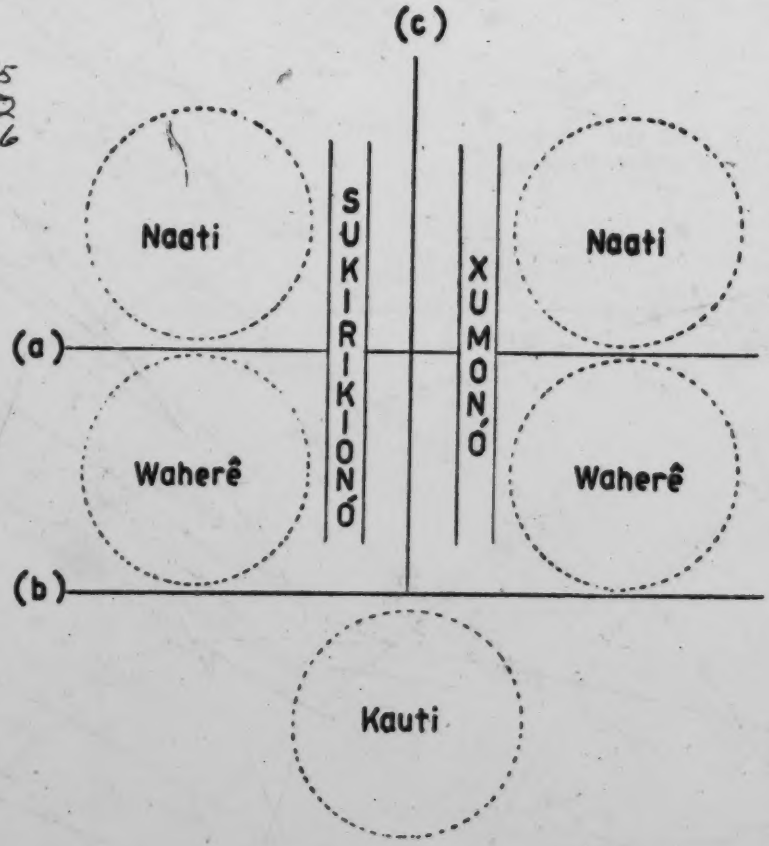

Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

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maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

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565 555 [701] the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* background. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waherê/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

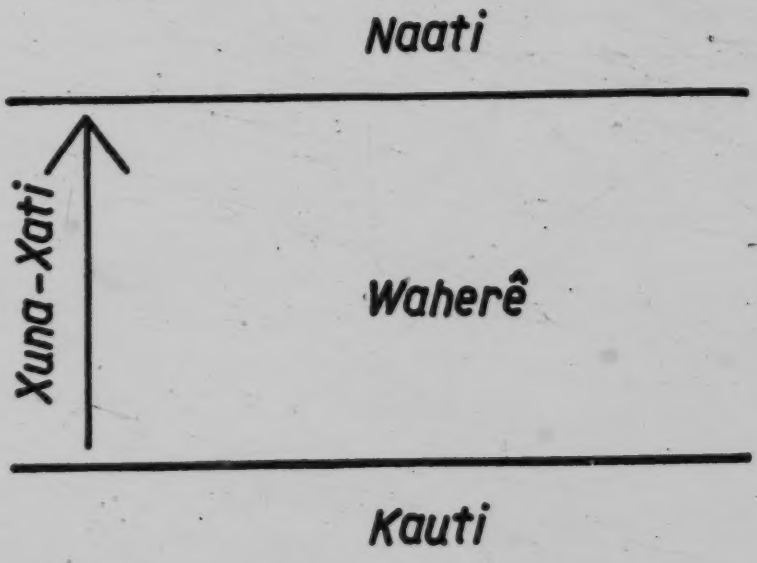

Figure III

582 565 557 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waherê women (Waherê-Seenó), just as the Waherê/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

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in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of birth for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *hiller* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

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565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

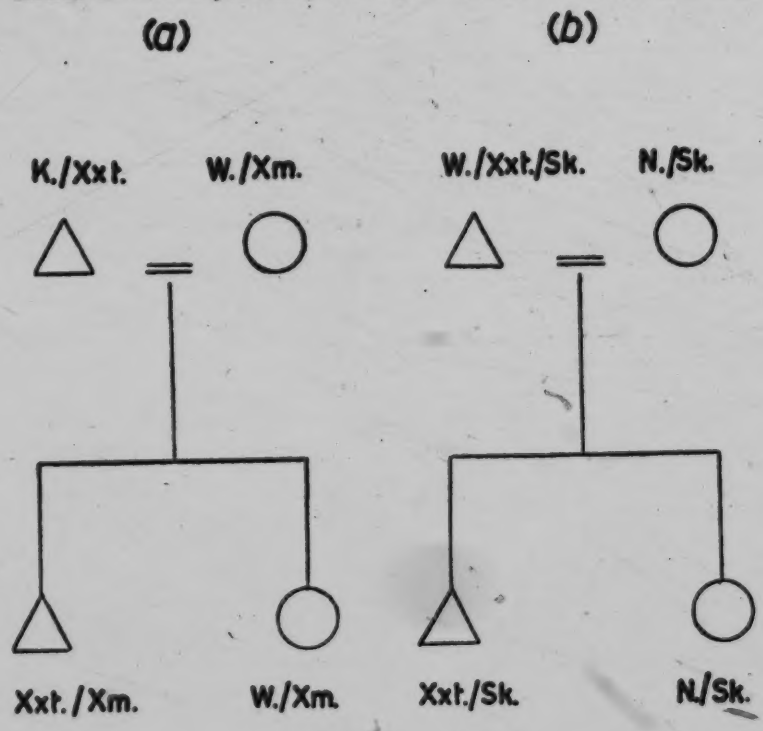

Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

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several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

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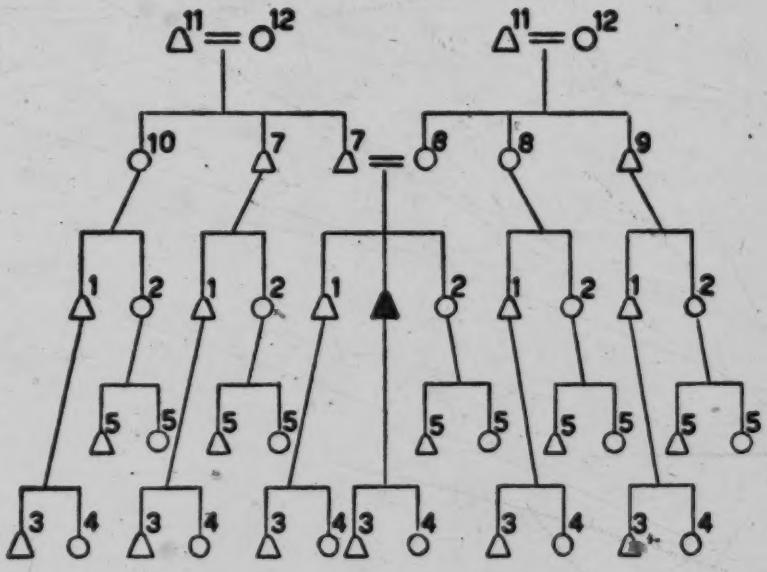

Figure 1

(1) Andi, (2) Nongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inzinó, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Ezno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onzo. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Ezno and Nongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brotner of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Ezno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Neene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

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man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

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were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

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around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives. . .[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

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6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, [591] which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati ingroup. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

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disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and immediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

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